

“It takes two to tango, you know”

The perception of female Child Support Grant recipients on the effect of the Child Support Grant on paternal involvement.

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1. Introduction

Historically, nuclear families in South Africa consisted of father, mother and children. Within these families fathers were very important: they were the primary economical providers, protectors of the family and role models for the younger children (Lesejane, 2006). Due to several factors, like migrant labour and the apartheid, family life has changed. One worrying trend in family life is the increase of absent, but living fathers (Richter & Morrell, 2006). Between 1996 and 2009 their numbers increased from 42 to 48 percent and the numbers of fathers who are present in the lives of their children decreased from 49 to 36 percent. Within this trend a racial dimension is present. African children under 15 years have the highest proportion of absent, living fathers: 52 percent in 2009. For coloured children was this percentage 41 percent, for white children 15 percent and 12 percent for Indian children (Richter & Morrell, 2006).

Several studies have shown that the absence of fathers has a negative effect on children, and especially on male children (Richter & Morrell, 2006). Boys whose fathers are absent in their lives, have lower academic achievement than boys who have their fathers present in their lives. These boys are more likely to display 'hypermasculine' behaviour, like aggression. Not only boys are affected by the absence of their father, also girls are affected. Compared to girls who have their father present in their lives, they are more likely to have a lower self esteem, higher levels of risky sexual behaviour and have more difficulties with maintaining romantic relationships later in life (Richter & Morrell, 2006).

Closely associated with the disruption of South African families is poverty. Fathers who live in poverty and those who experience unemployment are more likely to be absent from their children, both voluntarily as well as involuntarily. These fathers are not able to perform the economical responsibilities which are associated with fatherhood. This may lead to desertion of fathers, because they cannot carry the burden of being the economical provider. However, in some cases the desertion of fathers is not voluntary. The woman's family might prohibit in the upbringing of his child (Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Mkhize, 2006).

The increase of absent fathers is associated with an increase of children living in poverty. South Africa has very high rates of child poverty and poverty tends to be more pronounced among African single parent households (Barbarin & Richter as cited in Mkhize, 2006). The majority of single households consists of single mothers, meaning that child poverty is highly prevalent in households where the father is absent (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). In 2008, 64 percent of the children lived in households between the poverty line. The poverty line is set at R569 per month for 2008 (approximately 570 Euro). There are racial disparities in income poverty: 71 percent of the black children lived in poor households, while 37 percent of the coloured children, 11 percent of the

Indian children and 4 percent of the white children lived below the poverty line. Between the years 2002-2008 child poverty significantly declined (except in Northern Cape). These decreases are mainly the result of the expansion of the Child Support Grant (CSG) (Children's Institute, 2010).

The constitution of South Africa says that everybody has access to social security, and if they are not able to do so they will receive the appropriate social assistance (South African Constitution as cited in Children's Institute, 2010). Therefore the government is obliged to support children if their parents or caregivers are not able to support their children. One of these grants is the CSG. This is a cash transfer to primary caregivers of extremely poor children (Children's Institute, 2010). Currently, there are 10.4 million children who benefit from the CSG (International Labour Office, 2011). Their primary caregivers receive R280 (approximately E280) per child, per month. The money is paid to the primary caregiver, thus the recipient does not have to be the biological parent of the child. The age limit of the child is 17 years, the income threshold is R2,500 (approximately E250) per month for a single caregiver, and for married caregivers the combined income may not exceed R5,000 (approximately E500) per month (South African Government Services, 2012). The CSG can be applied for to a maximum of six children. The only behavioural condition to the CSG is that the child is attending school (South African Government Services, 2012). In practice most caregivers spend the money on food, transport, medicines, for school fees and school uniforms (Patel, Hochfeld, Moodley & Mutwali, 2012).

The CSG caused a decline in poverty among children: a decrease from 76.8 percent in 2002 to 63.6 percent in 2008. The CSG not only has a positive effect on poverty among children, it also has multiple positive unintended effects. One of these effects is the increase of maternal involvement. Patel et al. (2012) found that mothers who receive the benefit spend (significantly) more time with their children than those who do not. Mothers who receive the benefit spend more time with their children watching television, helping them with their homework, playing with them or reading to them. The researchers conclude therefore that CSG caregivers, compared to non-CSG caregivers are more involved in care activities with their children. Thus the CSG has a positive impact on maternal involvement; however it is not clear whether this also applies for fathers.

A large amount of children in South Africa are raised by single mothers (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Research has shown that the Child Support Grant has a positive effect on maternal involvement, but it is not clear if this also applies to men. Several studies show that mothers, via gate closing and gate opening, have influence on paternal involvement. In South Africa a lot of fathers are absent in the lives of their children. An increase in paternal involvement has a positive effect on mothers, children and fathers (Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Richter & Morrell, 2006). Therefore

this study aims at providing an analysis of the perception of female CSG in Doornkop, Johannesburg (South Africa) on fatherhood and the influence the CSG has on paternal involvement.

This thesis describes the setup and results of the (qualitative) research that has been conducted in Doornkop, Johannesburg (South Africa). A total of fifteen interviews with female CSG recipients were conducted, as well with a focus group of 10 women. In the focus group 10 female CSG recipients discussed fatherhood and the effect of the CSG on fatherhood.

Chapter two contains a theoretical overview of the factors which might influence paternal involvement: the Child Support Grant and maternal gate opening and gate closing. Chapter two also presents more information about the developments in South Africa which led to the current situation of fatherhood. Chapter three lays out the research design and research questions. In chapter four the results of this research are presented, and they are compared to the theoretical overview from chapter two. Based on these results, the research questions are answered in chapter five. Chapter five also contains policy and research recommendations, a brief reflection on the shortcomings of this research and describes the implication of the results regarding the theory described in chapter two.

2. Theoretical exploration

In South Africa, and especially in the black community, very few fathers are actively involved in the lives of their children. There is also a negative perception of fathers (Fox, 1999; Redpath, Morrell, Jewkes & Peacock, 2008). In this chapter, several factors which have an influence on this phenomenon are described. Gender roles, the influence of mothers on paternal involvement, and the complicated history of apartheid and migrant labour in South Africa have all in some way led to a large amount of absent fathers. The second part consists of governmental policies, with a focus on the Child Support Grant, which might have an unintended influence on paternal involvement.

2.1. Gender, masculinity and paternal involvement

Gender plays an important role in the perception of fatherhood and influences fathers' lives (Marsiglio, Day & Lamb, 2008). The gender of a person is different from somebody's sex. Sex is defined in biological terms as the anatomical and psychological differences between males and females (Baron & Byrne, 2000). Gender, on the other hand, refers to everything else associated with an individual's sex, including the roles, behaviours, and preferences. This includes the various cultural differences that determine the meaning of being 'male' or 'female' (Baron & Byrne, 2000). Masculinity is a gender identity, which means that a man acquires his gender identity through social contexts and circumstances. Examples of these contexts are class and race (Morrell, 2001). In the construction of masculinities, fatherhood is an important element (Datta, 2007; Morrell, 2005). However, there are differences in interpretation of fatherhood. It could be interpreted that only conceiving a child emphasizes a man's masculinity, but it could be also interpreted as a contribution, like protecting and providing for the child. The performance of these functions are very important in the construction of successful masculinities. When men are not able to fulfil these functions, there is a possibility that they retreat from these responsibilities (Chopra, 2001).

Gender provides individuals with ways to display and interpret symbolic representations of situations and behaviours. Both men and women are active participants in creating gender through processes of interaction. Men and women negotiate, bargain or manage aspects of family life to maintain gender specialization (Braverman, as cited in Allen & Hawkins, 1999). These displays and interpretations of gender are usually associated with economic provider and caretaker roles. Because of gendered expectations, competing perceptions of family life and parental involvement, men and women can experience anxiety and conflict in sharing parental responsibilities (Marsiglio et al., 2008). These gendered expectations can influence the male involvement in family life. McBride, Brown, Bost, Shin, Vaugh & Korth (2005) state that paternal involvement is influenced by the mother's perception of the father's role. This means that the mother might influence the degree in

which the father has access to his child. There are two dominant, contradictory mechanisms through which mothers can influence paternal involvement. The first one is that of 'gate closing' while the second one is that of 'kinkeeping'. Either the mother keeps the father away from his children, or, conversely, strives to keep him closely involved.

2.1.1. Influence of mothers on paternal involvement: maternal gate closing and kinkeeping

The two mechanisms, maternal gate closing and maternal kinkeeping are at the ends of the continuum where the mother tries to influence the involvement of the father of the children. According to Allen & Hawkins (1999, p. 200) maternal gate closing is: "is a collection of beliefs and behaviours that ultimately inhibit a collaborative effort between men and women in family work by limiting men's opportunities for learning and growing through caring for home and children". Kinkeeping is the effort of (mostly the mother's) maintaining connections between family members. It involves both the norm of obligation and the attachment bonds of affection (Putney & Bengtson as cited in Hess-Brown & DeRycke, 2010).

The kinkeeper is a specific position within a family. This position involves responsibility and activities enacted on behalf of the family which contribute to solidarity and continuity (Rosenthal, 1985). Maternal kinkeepers spend a lot of time and energy maintaining the family. It is hard work: emotional, financial and physical (Abel, as cited in Gerstel, 1993). This means that mothers have specific tasks as being the "head of the family in care work": the comforter, financial manager and ambassador. Mothers also act as communicator between family members. They can organise family meetings and keep in touch with family members over the phone or write to them (Rosenthal, 1985). Other activities involved in kinkeeping are: visiting family members and mutual aid (Adams, in Rosenthal, 1985). Most research on maternal kinkeeping focuses on the mother keeping in touch with her extended family, and not so much on the mother being a kinkeeper within her primary family. Seery & Crowley (2000) extended the theory of kinkeeping by focussing on the mother influencing paternal involvement. Instead of the term 'kinkeeping' they use the term 'gate opening'. Gate opening has the same meaning as kinkeeping, but the difference is that gate opening refers to the primary family instead of kinkeeping the extended family.

Maternal gate closing can be an important source of the under involvement of fathers in care and domestic work. Within maternal gate closing Allen & Hawkins (1999) developed three dimensions which might explain the reasons why mothers act as gatekeepers. First, mothers can feel that the care and domestic work is their responsibility and therefore are not willing to share that responsibility with the father. Because they feel it is their responsibility, they set high standards for domestic work, which they would rather carry out themselves. In practice, mothers act as managers

and treat their husbands as helpers. There is no mutual responsibility between spouses. Secondly, maternal identity confirmation might lead to gate closing. It refers to the impact of the internalization of cultural expectations of being a mother on attitudes about parental involvement. This means that women view their identity primarily as being a mother, and this can be an important source of satisfaction. If fathers are more involved in care and domestic work, this might lead to a loss of identity for the mothers. Thirdly, the perception how family work should be divided among men and women might influence maternal gate closing. It refers to the fact that the role of father and mother reflect a clear division between labour and care work within the family. Particularly, the expectations of mothers on how labour should be divided plays an important role (Allen & Hawkins, 1999).

Both Allen & Hawkins (1999) and Trinder (2008) conclude that simply dividing mothers into gate closers and openers is not adequate. In the research by Allen & Hawkins (1999), most of the mothers actually were somewhere in between of gate closers and gate openers: parents stated that the other parent neither backed up nor undermined the other parent's parenting.

Trinder (2008) has found five dimensions relating to maternal gate opening and gate closing. The first dimension is *proactive gate opening*: It includes various actions, like troubleshooting, and management strategies. Those actions are undertaken by mothers to ensure a positive and enduring contact between fathers and children. This means that mothers actively strive for joint involvement and try to build a positive father image. To sustain a healthy relationship between father and child, the mother can employ various methods to ensure ongoing contact between them: encouragement of father and child to keep the contact going and providing practical support to make contact possible, and in case of post separation parenting: being flexible over schedules and providing a venue for contact to occur between father and child. There are three strategies in which mothers try to be a gate opener. The first strategy is to suggest father activities which he can undertake with the children and go beyond only entertainment activities. Examples are mothers who stimulate fathers to help their children with homework. The second strategy is that of positive image building. Mothers stay positive, and refrain from making negative comments about the father in the presence of their children, whether the parents are divorced or not. The third strategy is that of peacekeeping. Peacekeeping refers to mediating between children and father. However, it was very little used by parents in Trinders' research. Trinder assumes it is caused by the reluctance of one the parents to get involved in conflicts with the ex-partner.

The second dimension is *contingent gate opening*: mothers who are supportive of the contact between father and child, but have concerns about the fathers' contact posing a risk to the child. The strategies that proactive gate openers use are similar to those of contingent gate openers,

but they add certain measures to ensure to the safety of the children. Mothers view it as necessary for their children to see their father and support the contact between father and child. An example of contingent gate opening is a mother who is providing her child a mobile phone, so the child can call the mother when she is feeling unsafe at her father's house and wants to go to her mother (Trinder, 2008).

The third dimension is that of *passive gate closing*: the responsibility lies with contact parents to ensure that contact took place. This also means that children can decide for themselves whether they want to see their father. The strategies which pro active and contingent gate openers use are not adopted by mothers who are passive gatekeepers. Passive gate closing usually occurs in two situations. The first situation occurs when fathers do not have regular contact with their child, and the contact remains intermittent. The second situation is when mothers use a passive approach towards the father of their child when there is an overt interparental conflict with the father (Trinder, 2008).

The fourth and fifth dimension are that of *justifiable and proactive gate closing*. These two are gender specific perspectives. Mothers are trying to reduce, restrict and end contact between father and child. They justify the gate closing based on the argument of child well-being, for example because they accuse the father of poor and abusive parenting. This does not mean that mothers don't want contact between father and child; they think it is not in the child's best interest, or it is because the children want less or no contact with their father. On the other hand, fathers don't feel that the gate closing is justifiable and claim that the gate closing of the mother is a result of the mother wanting revenge (Trinder, 2008).

Trinder (2008) has found four factors and contexts in which the five dimensions of gate opening and gate closing occur. The first factor is that of *parental relationship*. Mothers who are gate closers describe the relationship with the father of their children as conflictual, while mothers who are gate openers have a more friendly and cooperative relationship with their ex-partners. In case of a conflict, both parties are usually able to solve this. The second factor is *maternal perceptions of paternal competence and commitment*. Mothers who are gate openers view their ex-partners as good fathers, or as good-enough fathers, who have good intentions and therefore should be involved in the lives of their children. Gate closers, on the other hand, might think the father lacks experience in parenting, or is simply unaware of their children's emotional needs, and therefore strives to keep the father away from his children. The third factor is *child welfare needs*. Mothers who are gate openers feel that it is in the best interest of a child to stay in touch with their father, while contingent gate openers feel that it is important, but that the children also are exposed to some risk. Mothers who are gate closers disagree with their ex-partners about how the well being of

their children can be guaranteed. The remaining factor is *maternal role security, role battles and role bargains*. Mothers see themselves as a central part of their children’s lives, and see no benefit in an equal parenting relationship with the father of their child. Mothers see themselves as childcare experts, and therefore know what the best way is in parenting. These contextual factors are summarized in the following table (Trinder, 2008, p. 1315):

	<i>Parental relationship</i>	<i>Maternal perceptions of paternal competence and commitment</i>	<i>Child welfare discourses</i>	<i>Role security and role bargain</i>
<i>Proactive Gate opening</i>	Friendly and managed contact	Good or good-enough father, committed	Current child welfare	Maternal facilitation and paternal acceptance
<i>Contingent Gate opening</i>	Managed conflict	Good enough father (with scrutiny), some commitment	Current child welfare	Maternal facilitation and paternal acceptance
<i>Passive Gate opening</i>	Disengaged, with episodic conflict	Limited competence and commitment	Traditional child welfare	Maternal non facilitation and paternal acceptance
<i>Justifiable and Proactive Gate Closing</i>	Chronic, sometimes escalating conflict	Harsh and insensitive parenting	Current child welfare (exercised by self, not other parent)	Maternal non facilitation and paternal non acceptance.

The causes and consequences, as well as the extent of maternal gate opening and gate closing are not clear (Trinder, 2008). However, there are indications that in post divorce or separated families, gate closing is prevalent. On the other hand, there is also research that concluded that some mothers in post separation families facilitate fathers’ involvement (Maccoby & Mnookin, as cited in Trinder, 2008). Also, the effectiveness of maternal gate opening and gate closing is mixed. Some researchers find that there is a link between gate closing and paternal involvement (Allen & Hawkins,

1999), while in another study the researchers conclude that maternal perception only explains a small part of the variance (Trinder, 2008). Trinder has found that gate opening contributes to a positive and involved fatherhood, but there also seems to be a paradox. Maternal facilitation both expands and limits father involvement: fathers have a positive and ongoing relationship with their children, but the facilitation of the mother also reinforces her role as a manager of the family. Thus the main responsibility for the children remains with the mother.

Family relationships change because of changes in life expectancy, the increase of divorce, death, cohabitation and single parenthood (Hess-Brown & DeRycke, 2010; Rosenthal, 1985). These changes and trends are problematic in maintaining solidarity and continuity within a family. This is especially important in South Africa, where historical events and recent developments have led to a high percentage of single mothers. The changed family structure, from fathers as breadwinner and mothers as caregivers to different patterns of fatherhood and a large number of single mothers, has led to a variety of ways in which families and kinship relations are defined.

2.2 Background and context of the problem: negative image of fathers in South Africa

To understand the current situation of fatherhood, and the perception of fatherhood among the black community in current South Africa it is important to look at the history and development of fatherhood in South Africa. As a result of several developments, like the apartheid and migrant labour, various fatherhood patterns have arisen.

Traditionally, South African fatherhood and family life was shaped by communal life. This means that personal development is not individualistic, like in the Western society, but children develop their place in the community and their responsibilities through relationships with other people. People are morally obliged to be responsive to others' needs (Mkhize, 2006). Living in a collective means living in an extended family, in which all members, like aunts, uncles and grandparents, are part of the family. Within an extended family child-rearing was therefore a responsibility for the whole family (Mkhize, 2006).

Within these families, both males and females played strictly different parts. Mothers and other female relatives were responsible for childcare and the household (Mamphele & Richter, 2006). Fathers, on the other hand, are historically seen as the patriarch of the family. Fathers are "the symbol and custodian of ultimate power and responsibility in the family and in the community" (Lesejane, 2006: 173). Fathers sat at the top of the pecking order, followed by the eldest son, other male relatives, and women and children coming last. The patriarch was once respected in African culture and seen as a man of wisdom, good judgement, care and consideration. This meant that men

did not become fathers purely by the act and fact of conception. Men who achieved the status of 'father' were married and were seen as the head of their (extended) families (Lesejane, 2006).

Fathers were seen as providers and protectors (Lesejane, 2006). For example: If fathers were not able to provide economically for their children, his family had to take over this responsibility or share the blame in the eyes of the community (Mkhize, 2006). Fathers therefore had several responsibilities: they were the moral authority within their families, primary providers for material needs (like food), protectors of the family and role models for the young men (Lesejane, 2006). Fathers also had different types of roles, related to the upbringing of the children. The first role was that they had to be available for their youngsters. Spending time with the youngsters and being a (moral) authority figure comprised of these roles. This was also a prerequisite for being a role model. Another one was being 'responsible'; guiding, organising and overseeing the lives of his children. A third one is to interact with his family. Listening to members of his family, and consulting with them, was an attribute of being a good father (Lesejane, 2006).

In the twentieth century the family structures in South Africa began to change (Richter & Morrell, 2006). Several factors like migrant labour, the apartheid, HIV/AIDS and poverty had and still have a major impact on family life. Currently, a large amount of the children in South Africa grow up without their father: 48 percent of the children in South Africa have absent, living fathers and only 36 percent of the children in South Africa had their fathers present in their lives (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Due to these factors there is also a wide range of fathering relations in South Africa. In addition to, or as a substitute for the biological father, others males (stepfather, uncles, brothers etc.) can maintain a paternal relationship with a child (Mkhize, as cited in Richter & Morrell, 2006).

During the apartheid, migrant labour drove fathers away from their children. Migrant labour was carried out mainly by men who went to places distant from their families in search of work. Fathers then were separated from their children and saw them only a few times a year. Another important factor causing this change was HIV/AIDS epidemics. According to Wilson (2006), being infected with HIV/AIDS has two major consequences. The first consequence is that fathers are likely to die while their children are still underage. Second, fathers are not able to fulfil their obligations as a parent. For example, sometimes fathers have to make a cruel decision between paying for covering their child's needs and paying for their own HIV/AIDS medicines. Also poverty still plays an important role in being an absent father. Unemployed fathers do not have the opportunity to provide economically for their family and this deprives them from playing an active role in the upbringing of their children. If fathers are not able to provide for their family, they might be excluded or voluntarily withdraw from their family, because they cannot participate in the way masculinity dictates (Redpath et al., 2008).

The factors mentioned in the previous paragraph have not only lead to a large amount of absent fathers, but has also lead to a change in masculinity of South African men (Morrell, 2001). Currently, masculinity dictates that men provide for their family (Redpath et al., 2008). The new form of masculinity also emphasizes violence and normalises controlling and violent behaviour. In South Africa, there are high rates of sexual violence towards adults and children. Domestic violence between spouses is also highly prevalent. Masculinity predicate having multiple partners and controlling women, including determining the timing and circumstances of sex (including using a condom or not) (Redpath et al., 2008).

Currently, there is a negative perception, about fathers, and especially of black men in South Africa (Richter, Manegold, Pather & Mason as cited in Richter & Morrell, 2006). Fathers are either seen as providers and disciplinarians, or absent, irresponsible and profligate (Fox, 1999; Redpath et al., 2008). The general perception in South Africa is that fathers are not interested in their children (Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008). Factors which contribute to the negative perception of fathers are the high amount of absent fathers, the highly prevalent violence and sexual abuse of women and children, the lack of emotional and financial support by fathers, and the fact that men are seen as being promiscuous (Lesejane, 2006; Madhavan et al, 2008; Datta, 2007; Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza & Timaeus, 2006).

Even so, the general idea of masculinity seems to be changing along with fatherly engagement. According to Morrell (2005) fathers currently are expected to participate in more engaging ways with their children. Fathers can be caring, domestically engaged and loving and not only seen as providers. This is supported by Richter (2006) who states that there is a change in the role of men in the family in South Africa. They are becoming more involved in the lives of their children. For example, observations in South Africa showed an increase of the percentage of fathers attending healthcare with their children. Smit (2008) conducted research on 'new fatherhood'. This refers to father's larger involvement in caring for his children. According to Isshii-Kuntz (as cited in Smit, 2008) this active fatherhood involvement implies: "defining his role as father as being committed to addressing the psychical, mental and emotional needs of his children, rather than merely conforming to cultural and social norms on paternal role obligations" (1995: 6). In 2008 Smit conducted a quantitative research regarding the perception of fathers on 'new fatherhood' in Gauteng, South Africa. The results of Smit's study were that fathers considered themselves as having a high level of father involvement. They also thought it was fair to expect that a man is actively involved in the lives of his children (Smit, 2008). Smit therefore concludes that many of the men interviewed see themselves as active, nurturant fathers. Holborn & Eddy (2011) however, conclude

the contrary: that there is a decrease in the number of fathers who are present and involved in the lives of their children.

Fatherhood in South Africa has gone through a lot of changes in the last century. Traditionally, fathers are seen as providers and protectors (Lesejane, 2006). Due to several factors, such as the struggle against apartheid, migrant labour, disruption of traditional norms about marriage and families, families were torn apart, many children grew up without their biological fathers and there is a wide range of fathering relations to substitute for that (Richter & Morrell, 2006). These factors and trends, in combination with the highly prevalent (sexual) abuse of women and of children, unemployment of fathers and lack of paying childcare allowances by fathers, explain the negative perception of fathers in South Africa (Lesejane, 2006; Madhavan et al., 2008). On the other hand, there are positive signs as well, some studies conclude that men in South Africa do see themselves as actively, caring and nurturing father for their children (Morrell, 2005; Richter, 2006; Smit, 2008). However, this does not mean that fathers are actually more involved in the lives of their children. As most human beings, there might be a difference in what fathers think and do regarding their behaviour, e.g. paternal involvement.

2.3 Impact of social protection on citizens in South Africa: the Child Support Grant

According to the United Nations social protection is:

“The set of public and private policies and programmes undertaken by societies in response to various contingencies to offset the absence or substantial reduction of income from work; to provide assistance for families with children as well as provide people with healthcare and housing.” (2001: 4-5)

Social protection comprises four types instruments, namely: protective measures (which provides for example poor relief), preventive measures (for example: attempts to prevent deprivation), promotive measures (enhancing incomes and capabilities) and social justice ones (reducing inequities and improving social integrations) (UN, 2001). Social justice measure have also been called a ‘transformative element’: “The need to pursue policies that integrate individuals equally into society, allowing everyone to take advantage of the benefits of growth and enabling excluded or marginalized groups to claim their rights” (Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2008: 70). Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux state that there might be unintended negative consequences of certain policies. Providing social assistance can hamper the achievement of social objectives, such as increasing individuals’ dignity and autonomy. For example, measures can have the unintended effect of stigmatizing certain groups or reinforcing power hierarchies. Therefore is it important to make sure

that social protection measures have a positive or neutral social impact (Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2008).

2.3.1 Social policies in South Africa: the Child Support Grant

South Africa has an extensive social protection system, which has two objectives. The first one is to increase economic growth and development, through investment in health, education and nutrition. The second objective is to reduce poverty among certain groups, like the elderly, children and people with disabilities (Woolard, Harttgen & Klasen, 2012). To reduce poverty the government developed several grants, and one of these grants is the Child Support Grant. It was introduced in South Africa in 1998, and is a cash transfer for caregivers of extremely poor children. Initially, the CSG was an unconditional cash transfer, meaning that there were no behavioural commitments. The CSG was first made available to children from birth to their seventh birthday, and it was means tested. This means that only children in very poor households qualified for this grant. The money, R100 (approximately E10) at its introduction, was paid to the primary caregiver, and he or she does not need to be the biological parent of the child (Lund, 2009). The grant is also gender neutral, which means both men and women can apply for the CSG. According to the South African government a primary caregiver is over sixteen years of age, takes primary responsibility for a child and does not need to be biological related to the child (Republic of South Africa, 2004).

Since the implementation of the grant in 1998 there have been numerous changes. The first change was in 1998 when the government expanded the base of recipients for the CSG by changing the age limit to fifteen years, and more recently the government expanded the age of recipients to seventeen years. In 2010 the South African government introduced a behavioural condition to the CSG. The primary caregiver should prove that the child is attending school. This occurred even though the enrollment of children in primary schools, both boys and girls, in South Africa is high (Lund et al., 2009).

Currently, the CSG is about R270 (approximately E27) per month, with the maximum of 6 children per family for who can be applied for. The income threshold is for a single person 2,500 Rand per month and 5000 Rand for married caregivers the combined income may not exceed R5,000 (approximately E500) per month (South African Government services, 2012). In 2011 there were 10.4 million CSG beneficiaries, which makes the CSG the biggest of the social grants (International Labour Office, 2011).

Since the implementation of the CSG there have been numerous studies about its effects. Researchers have found that it has a positive influence on children's nutrition (International Poverty Centre, 2007) and school attendance (Case, Hosegood & Lund, 2005). Recently, Patel et al. (2012)

concluded that the CSG also enhances woman’s power and control over household decision-making in financial matters in relation to child well-being. The CSG therefore has a direct influence on the empowerment of female CSG beneficiaries and thus it has positive transformative effects. However, there is also some evidence that it has a negative influence on payment of maintenance by fathers. Although the CSG is gender neutral (Patel & Hochfeld, 2011), both male and female caregivers can apply for one, but it seems it can increase gender inequality. Women are the majority of beneficiaries (98% are women, while 2% of the beneficiaries are men, Unicef, 2008) and this fact, combined with the negative relation between the CSG and payment of maintenance by fathers, could lead to reinforcements of gender inequality.

2.4 Summary

The CSG is a cash transfer for poor children and paid to the primary caregiver, most of these being women. Research shows it has several positive effects, and one of them is the empowerment of women: they are more autonomous, independent and they perceive that they have more influence on the decision making in relation to the well-being of children. Theoretically, empowerment of women can result in less (by maternal gate closing) or more (by maternal gate opening) paternal involvement. Due to several transformations in South Africa, different fatherhood patterns arose; other males, apart from the biological father, can provide the adult male-child relationship. The degree of paternal involvement is influenced by the beliefs of the mother about the father’s role. There are two contradictory mechanisms through which this perception can influence paternal involvement: gate opening and gate closing. These assumptions can be summarized through the following scheme:

		Female perception on fatherhood	
		<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Maternal gate closing		?	-
Maternal gate opening		+	?

Figure 1: the influence of perception on masculinity on maternal gate closing and gate opening.

The CSG might have three possible transformative values: positive, neutral or negative. In the case of paternal involvement is a positive transformative value an increase of paternal involvement, a

neutral transformative value means no change in paternal involvement and a negative transformative value means that the paternal involvement decreases.

A negative perception of masculinity in combination with maternal gate closing results in less paternal involvement, since the CSG provides mothers resources so they decide to limit fathers' access to their children. A positive perception of masculinity in combination with maternal gate opening results in more paternal involvement: the CSG provides mothers enough recourses to maintain and encourage a relationship between father and children. Thirdly, when mothers are gate openers but have a negative perception of masculinity, they can decide to keep the family together, while it can be assumed that motherly gate closing does not necessarily coincide with a positive perception of fatherhood. In these two last cases, the CSG will not have transformative values.

2.5 Research question and sub questions

'How do female recipients of the Child Support Grant in Doornkop, Johannesburg, perceive the effect of the Child Support Grant on paternal involvement, and how can this perception be explained?'

Sub questions

1. How does the (substitute/additional) father fulfil his role since the household is receiving the CSG, according to the female beneficiaries?
2. Does maternal gatekeeping and a negative image of fathers perceived by female CSG recipients lead to less paternal involvement and what is the effect of the CSG?
3. Does maternal gate opening and a positive image of fathers perceived by female CSG recipients lead to more paternal involvement and what is the effect of the CSG?
4. Does maternal gate opening and a negative image of fathers perceived by female CSG recipients have on paternal involvement and what is the effect of the CSG?
5. Does maternal gate closing and a positive image of fathers perceived by female CSG recipients have on paternal involvement and what is the effect of the CSG?

3. Research design

3.1 Operationalization

- *Father*: “Fathers are defined in relation to reproduction such that fathers contribute to the child’s genetic material.” (Engle & Leonard, as cited in Datta, 2007).
- *Substitute or additional father*: adult males who are not the biological father and provide a paternal relation with a child.
- *Paternal relationship*: an adult male who provides either or both the economical fatherhood role or the social fatherhood role towards a child.
- *Paternal involvement*: taking responsibility, protecting and providing for children or/and affectionate, caring and involved fatherhood (Morrell, Posel & Devey, 2003). This doesn’t need to be fulfilled by the biological father. Also other adult men, like uncles and brothers, can provide the father role. There are two types of paternal involvement (Engle, 1997):
 1. Economical fatherhood: fathers who support their child financially. Mostly, it is the biological father (for example through maintenance), but this is not always the case.
 2. Social fatherhood: fulfilling the paternal role and responsibilities by protecting the children, taking responsibility, caring for them, and showing affection and involvement.
- *Negative father image*: (additional) fathers are perceived as lacking in fulfilling economical and/or social fatherhood.
- *Positive father image*: (additional) fathers are seen as economical providers for their family and/or fulfilling social fatherhood.
- *Maternal gatekeeping*: the beliefs and behaviours of mothers that limits the fathers’ or substitute or additional fathers’ opportunities to be involved with their children.
- *Maternal kinkeeping*: the beliefs and behaviours of mothers in which they try to maintain and encourage a relationship between children and their father.

3.2 Research method

The goal of this research is to find out how female CSG recipients perceive the influence of receiving this benefit on paternal involvement and to find an explanation for this perception. The focus is on their subjective perception and therefore interpretative qualitative research is the best option. The starting point of interpretative research is the specific character of social reality, rather than objective characteristics of ‘external’ reality. People give meanings to phenomena and these meanings are mutually exchanged in daily live interactions and thus people collectively create reality (Boeije, 2005).

This research has a descriptive and an explanatory character. It will provide an analysis of the perception of paternal involvement and will try to explain the perception of female CSG recipients and the effect of the CSG on paternal involvement.

3.2.1 Area, participants and data collection

The location where the research was conducted is Doornkop, a ward in Soweto, Johannesburg (South Africa). The houses in Doornkop are made of bricks or corrugated iron. Most streets in Doornkop are tarred and most houses have access to water and electricity. In the area there are several schools, a health clinic, small home-based shops, telephone services, carwashes and hair salons.

The total population of Doornkop was 24,225 in 2001 (StatsSA, 2004), with approximately 5,500 households (Patel et al., 2012). Forty-six percent of the households in Doornkop receive a Child Support Grant (De Wet et al., 2008). In the study of De Wet et al. Doornkop, out of eight deprived wards in Johannesburg, has the largest amount of CSG recipients. The high amount of CSG recipients was the main reason why this location was chosen, since this made it easier to find appropriate participants for the research. The second reason is a more practical one. The staff of the Research Centre of Social Development in Africa (University of Johannesburg) has conducted numerous studies on the CSG in Doornkop. The staff has contacts in this area which makes it probably easier to find CSG recipients who are willing to participate in the research.

To get insight in the influence of the CSG in paternal involvement perceived by the mothers, fifteen interviews and one focus group were conducted. Criteria for participants were that they are female, receive a Child Support Grant and that they are the biological mother of the child(ren) they receive a CSG for. From research by Patel (2012) it is known that most CSG recipients in Doornkop are in fact the biological mother of the child. Other recipients are grandmothers and other relatives. Biological mothers can probably give a better description of the father and his involvement with the child than grandmothers or other relatives. The fourth criterion was that the participants can express themselves reasonable well in English. If necessary a female native language interpreter joined the interview to help the participant to express themselves. The interpreter was trained beforehand, in order to have a better idea about the aim of the research and the questions.

To get a good picture of the perception of female CSG recipients on the influence of receiving this benefit on fatherhood two methods were used, semi-structured interviews and a focus group. For the interviews a topic list was used (see appendix A), which included: who fulfils the father role for the children of the female CSG beneficiaries, whether the mother encourages or limits the access of the (substitute/additional) father, and changes in performing the father role since the mother is receiving the CSG. A total of fifteen interviews was carried out and the time spent on an interview was between 30-60 minutes. All the interviews were digitally recorded, after the participant signed the informed

consent form for recording the interview. At every interview a local female community worker was present. If necessary she translated the questions and answers. It seemed that the presence of a female, black person who the participants knew made them feel more at ease. Some women stated that they had never spoken to a white woman and that therefore they were nervous.

After the fifteen interviews, a focus group (with around eight participants) was organised. A focus group is: "A form of group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants in order to generate new data" (Kitzinger, 1995: 299). Focus groups are very useful for exploring people's experiences, as they can be used not only to examine what they think, but also why. An advantage of focus groups is that through group processes participants explore and clarify their views which are less easily accessible in a one to one interview (Kitzinger, 1995). During the focus group five vignettes were used. Vignettes are a useful tool for studying attitudes, beliefs and norms (Finch, as cited in Wilks, 2004). They represent hypothetical situations and are used to facilitate participants' responses (Wilks, 2004). The main themes of the vignettes were: the CSG, perception of fatherhood, social and economical fatherhood, additional fathers and maternal gate opening and gate closing (see appendix B for the vignettes). All the combinations described in figure one (page 18) in chapter two were used. For example: a situation which combined a positive perception of fatherhood and maternal gate opening. Each vignette described three consecutive stories and the female main character in the story was faced with a dilemma. An example is single mother Tanya whose ex- partner refuses to pay maintenance for their children. She make the decision to forbid her ex-partner access to his children. After each story the participants were asked their opinion about the situation described in the story.

The focus group was led by the researcher. The group consisted of 10 women, of which five of them who were individually interviewed before.

3.2.2. Data analysis

After conducting the interviews and focus groups, both interviews and focus group were fully transcribed. For analyzing the data the software NVivo 9 was used. The transcriptions of the interviews and focus group were coded with the help of the theoretical framework from chapter two and the operationalization of the concepts in section 3.1. Chapter two describes for example exactly how active gate closers act towards the fathers of their children: they restrict the contact between father and child. Not all the data were coded with the help of the theoretical overview and the operationalization. Some information was new, like cultural fatherhood, and therefore got a new code. After coding all the data, the researcher reduced the amount of codes by combining codes or even deleting codes (those which are not necessary for answering the research question). Finally, the researcher used the codes to find answers on the research question by combining perceptions on fatherhood with maternal gate opening and gate closing.

The data from the focus group were used to see what the general perception is about certain topics is. Secondly, the information from the focus group can be compared to the opinion of individual women to see if there is a difference. The data of the focus group were coded with the same codes which were used for the interviews. Within these codes comparisons between the general perception and individual experiences could be made.

3.3 Relevance

3.3.1 Scientific relevance

In South Africa very little research has been undertaken on mothers' perception on fatherhood, and there has been no research on the influence of policy on the (perception of) fatherhood. Most research on perception of fatherhood has been conducted from the perspective of fathers (for example: Smit, 2008). It is important to obtain knowledge about women's view on it. As Marsiglio et al. (2008) state: Both men and women create gender roles and these affect their behaviour. Different perceptions of gender roles, for example fatherhood, can lead to tensions between spouses or parents. This means that perceptions of both men and women on gender and parental roles influence paternal involvement. For example: mothers can act as gatekeepers and this can keep fathers away from their children, because they think family and care work are their responsibility (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). The scientific relevance therefore is to understand theoretically how the CSG influences paternal involvement by the way of the relationship between maternal behaviour and the female perception on fatherhood.

3.3.2. Social relevance

In South Africa a large number of children grow up without their fathers present in their lives (Holborn & Eddy, 2011) and care work is unequally divided between men and women. The results of this research can be used to improve or create policies and programs which focus on positive and active paternal involvement and thus lead to a more equal division of care work between men and women. Fathers who are more involved in the lives of their children benefit fathers, mothers and children (Hollborn & Eddy, 2001, Morrell, 2005). Children benefit through the provision of human capital (for example skills and knowledge), financial capital (for example money and income) and social capital (for example relations with family that can benefit children's cognitive and social development), and cultural capital (introduction in traditions, arts and literature). Fathers benefit as well, the ones who spend more time with their children are less likely to be depressed, to commit suicide or to beat their wives (Morrell, 2005). Women benefit through a more equal division of care work. The results of this research can therefore be used to create or improve policies and programs

regarding paternal involvement and eventually lead to a more equal division of care work and benefits for the society as a whole.

3.3.3 Relevance for Interdisciplinary Social Science

In the master of Social Policy and Social Interventions, social issues are studied from an interdisciplinary perspective. The social issue in this research, perceptions of female CSG recipients on paternal involvement, will be studied from different perspectives as well. Firstly, gender is a subject what is studied in different fields, like sociology, psychology and anthropology, which makes it interdisciplinary. Secondly, masculinity is a psychological concept and maternal gatekeeping and maternal kinkeeping are imbedded in sociological theory. Finally, the study on the effects of the Child Support Grants belongs to the domain of social policy analysis.

4. Results

This chapter will present the empirical findings of this research on the influence of the mothers perception on paternal involvement and the effect of the CSG on paternal involvement. This chapter consists of three parts. The first part covers paternal involvement: what do mothers consider to be paternal involvement? And has this changed since they receive the Child Support Grant? The second part will discuss the current image of (additional) fathers and fatherhood among mothers in Doornkop. The third part will cover maternal gate closing and gate opening.

4.1 Paternal involvement and additional fatherhood

According to mothers there are three different kinds of paternal involvement: social fatherhood (divided in care work and recreational activities), cultural fatherhood and economical fatherhood.

4.1.1 Social fatherhood: care work and recreational activities

Mothers refer to the fathers of their child(ren) as social fathers. Regarding social fatherhood mothers make a distinction between performing care responsibilities and recreational activities. Recreational activities are for example that the father plays with the child. Care work, on the other hand, not only involves work like bathing, cooking etc., but also activities where the father is actively emotionally involved with the child, like helping with homework, giving advice and protecting the child.

Interviewer: Is he [*father*] also involved in other ways in the life of your child?

Lerato: He plays, that's all he does. [...] Well, they play soccer, he would teach him nice things, watch TV. You know, only the nice stuff. Nothing complicated.
(21 yrs, 1 child)

Janet: Most of the time he plays with them, [...] He takes them to a mall or whatever. Not that much, but most of the time he tries to spend time with them.
(38 yrs, 3 children)

Most mothers are happy with the fact that the fathers of their child spend recreational time with their child, but other mothers would wish that the fathers could spend more time with their child and that the fathers take the child out, to for example the mall or the park. These mothers would wish that the father does not only play with the child in and around the house.

Pulang: [...] All I wish for my child is that the father of the child must come

(27 yrs, 1 child) and get the child and maybe going for the holiday. [...] Or the park, or staying at his house for a day. [...] The father of the child comes to me at home and sees the child and play with the child. But go to the park, he doesn't do that.

An involved social father is especially important for boys. It is assumed that sons relate more to their father, and that fathers therefore must undertake 'man activities' with their son(s), because there are certain activities and things that mothers cannot do with their child. Reasons for this are that mothers do not know anything about certain topics (like soccer) or that mothers are not interested in it.

Zama: You know, that the thing that stresses me the most: if the father figure is living apart. Cause if (26 yrs, 1 child) my father was living here or if I had a brother then I wouldn't have a problem [...] I am a girl, I can't play with him with dolls and everything. I have to take the cars and take him around [...]. I can't do that. At least if he has someone that will help him as a man and not as girl? [...] See, we are soft, we don't play rough. We like these dolls, mirrors, make up, clothes, everything. When they are rough, they play wrestling, they bike, they want motor bikes and everything [...].

This quote shows, according to the mothers, fathers are very important when it comes to sons especially for single mothers or mothers in a relationship where the man is not socially involved with their child. Single mothers have different solutions for the lack of a social father: either they try to fulfil the father role themselves and/or they ask an additional father to assist them with the 'man stuff'. An example is Kaya, her husband is not socially and emotionally involved with their child.

Interviewer: How does that make you feel that he doesn't do things with your son?

Kaya: I accepted that. [...] The worst is that he is a boy [...] When I was pregnant I said I want a (31 yrs, 1 child) boy. (.) I think to make his father proud [...] But I don't have a problem with that [*father not being socially and emotionally involved*]. [...] Me, I can do it. When I leave my job: my son is asking: mama, can we do this? I show him how to do that: playing balls, when I leave my job, I also will play ball with him outside. Yes, football, netball, we are playing that outside [...]

When there is an additional father it is usually a family member: (step)father, brother or uncle. Mothers are mostly very positive about this involvement, even though the additional fathers are seldom involved in care work with the child: most activities are playing with the child, like riding a bike or play with toys. The 'additional' father usually does not teach the child 'man stuff', nor is he involved in care work with the child. An exception is Sonto, who asks friends to help her with things

she feels she cannot teach her son.

Sonto: Once he [son] asked me like: why do girls urinate like that and why have men to stand up?
(26 yrs, 1 child) [...] So I asked a friend of mine to explain, you know, to show him, that he is a he and he is different, this is mommy and this is daddy [...] And he did, and now he knows: mommy! O.k, he knows: I am a boy I wear this, I am a man.

Reasons for the lack of social involvement by additional fathers are not clear, but one explanation might be that mothers feel that an additional father should do things willingly, meaning that mothers do not want to ask for more involvement.

Sonto: You know, you shouldn't force somebody in something that they don't want to do. You know,
(26 yrs, 1 child) they should do it willingly. They should know: I am the uncle, I am the grandfather and I should spend some time with the kid. But if they don't want to, I can't force them to.

In the general discourse additional fathers are accepted, but there are rules when an additional father should step in. Additional fathers are only allowed to step in when the father is not able to provide for his family or when the father is absent. If the father is present, provides for his family, socially, economically or culturally, it is inappropriate for the additional father to step in.

Jada: [...] If the father is there, and he is trying his best to contribute to his family, then he is
(focus group) showing: I want to be the man in the household, I will take care of you and your kids. [If the additional father] steps in and takes care of the family as a man, the father will fail as a man. No, it is not a good idea for an additional father to step in when the father tries to provide for his family. It is going to cause problems. For example: the father will say that he [the additional father] is sleeping with his wife.

When it comes to care work, mothers experience mixed feelings. On the one hand they feel that it is a woman's job to be responsible for the care work, because that is what they have been taught. On the other hand, mothers feel that care work should be divided between men and women. According to Smit (2002) this change in perception is caused by the changing nature of the role of the man in the family. One of these changes is the decline of the patriarchal power in family, meaning that the father does not have the ultimate power and responsibility in the family anymore. An important factor which contribute to the changing role as a father is the rise of women entering the labour market. This has lead to an image of the so called 'new man'. This means that fathers are not only seen as the primary economical provider, but that they should be involved in care and domestic

work. Even though women feel that care and domestic work should be divided between men and women, in practice the women are primarily responsible for care work, they do the cooking, cleaning and they are taking care for the children.

Zibuyelle: According to our culture fathers should go and work and bring the money home. A wife (38 yrs, 3 children) should do everything for the husband. So all the work should be done by the wife. But they should help each other [...]. There is no work that the father cannot do. They should help each other.

When men are involved in care work it usually is helping the children with homework, walk the children to school and when the children are little fathers sometimes bath their children. Mothers are mostly very pleased with the help they get from the father.

Zibuyelle: I feel good, in our culture the men are not supposed to do that [*help with care work*]. [...] (38 yrs, 3 children) When I saw my husband cooking or doing something housework, I was surprised. But now I feel great, my husband is very helping. He is very helpful, I feel great.

The fathers who are involved in care work, are men who are still in a relationship with the mother of the child. When the parents not have a relationship anymore, the father is mostly not involved in care work. There are different reasons why some fathers are not involved in care work. The first reason is that the father is completely absent in the live(s) of his child(ren). Secondly, men can consider care work as 'feminine' work. This means that they feel that they are a man therefore they do not have to be involved in care work. It is considered as a woman's task.

Andili: He [*the father of her children*] is telling himself that he is a man: I can't do that, the wives (36 yrs, 7 children) things. [...] He says: I am coming from KwaZulu Natal [*province in South Africa*] so I can't do the things that wives are supposed to do.

Even though mothers experience mixed feelings about fathers being involved in care work, they do think that there is no specific reason that fathers are not involved in care work. There seems to a tendency that the perception on care work is slowly changing. Not only women are responsible for care work, men also must have an equal share in care work. This is confirmed by research of Smit (2008) about perception of fathers on care work. Smit concludes that fathers consider themselves involved in not only the social and social needs of their children, but also as emotionally and socially involved fathers. The fathers also state that it is fair to expect that they are fully involved in the lives

of their children.

Jewel: I think it is 50/50. He has to be there, to assist each other, cause it [*care work*] is not my only (*30 yrs, 3 children*) job. It is not written in any bible. It is not written in any constitution that men they just have to go to work and sit on the chair and the couch and say: bring me a plate. [...] As I am saying: it takes two to tango.

4.1.2. Cultural fatherhood

For mothers the cultural aspect of fatherhood is very important. Mothers refer to the traditional Zulu or Xhosa roles for fathers by saying that it is very important to 'know your father'.

Pulang: I think that is important, because I want my child to know his father and learn when they (*27 yrs, 1 child*) are playing.

In Zulu and Xhosa culture ancestors play a very important role. The fathers must pass the traditions on to his children, both sons and daughters. The father must teach his children how to behave, and what the family values are etc. This means that fathers carry on their Zulu or Xhosa legacy on to the next generation. The first step is therefore for the father to officially acknowledge his child, so that the child gets the fathers surname (Mkhize, 2006; Campbell, C. & Maré, G. & Walker, C., 1995). Especially for sons it is very important to have their father in their live. When boys have their initiation into manhood, it is very important to have a father around. They can support and guide their sons through this process (Zenani & Scheub, 1992).

Kaya: Zulu boys are having a circumcision. [...] [*He*] should have the foreskin removed and the (*21 yrs, 1 child*) father must be there, because they know how important it is for a boy to have the foreskin removed. It's a good process for a boy to reach that stage. It is important that the father is there.

In Zulu culture the ancestors have great power, they act for the good or the ill of the people (Lawson, 1984). These ancestors require reverence and devotion for example via rituals which are performed during important events in life, like birth, marriage and death. Zulu society is patrilineal, meaning that authority and inheritance proceed through the male line from father to son. Single mothers are very concerned about what will happen to their children when the father is absent and thus does not pass on the traditions of their culture.

Interviewer: Why is it important for your son to have his father in his life?

Dilewe: Other kids, in our tradition, they get complicated [*when the father is absent, and thus does not pass on traditions*] for example: they don't sleep. It is causing problems, not knowing their fathers side. [...] So the father plays a big role. A father must know his child. When my child grows up, he must know what is going on, I must tell my child the truth: [...] Your father is not supporting you. This is not right for my child. I cannot sleep at night, because I don't know what to do about this situation.

This quote shows that Dilewe is very worried about her child, because the father is absent. She blames the absence of father for the sleeping problems of her child.

4.1.3 Economical fatherhood

For mothers, the economical aspect of fatherhood is most important, especially when the mothers are unemployed, depending on the Child Support Grant and maintenance of the father.

Sonto: I think a father should be there financially, especially financially, he should support his kids, he should love kids regardless of the situation whether he is still involved with the mother or not. A father should be a role model for the kid, you know. Well, unfortunately the fathers of today are a totally different story. It's not like that, they just don't care about their kids anymore.

Mothers who are in a relationship with the father of their children are more satisfied about their financial situation than single mothers. The absent fathers in this research are not involved in any way, and thus also do not pay maintenance. This leads to a lot of anger towards the father of the child, because fathers are expected to be (financially) involved with their children. Even though there is an option to go to court and sue the father for lack of maintenance, mothers are reluctant to undertake this step. Mothers do not trust the legal system, and mothers think that fathers should step in willingly. Single mothers therefore depend on the Child Support Grant. They are happy that they receive some money, but they do think it is not enough to raise the child(ren). Mothers who are in a relationship are more satisfied about their financial situation. There is high amount of unemployment among men, but mothers appreciate the fact that the fathers at least try to earn some money for their family.

Hope: Nkosi is a very hard worker, he is trying. Though he is unemployed, he is trying something. He is working at a salon for a few days. After those few days he wants another job. He always wants a job. He wants to see his child being satisfied.

Mothers who are in a relationship with the father of their child are thus satisfied, but they do think that the father can do better: what he is providing is not enough to support the child. He should pay more maintenance or pay maintenance on a more regular basis. There are several reasons why fathers do not provide enough for their family. For example, the high unemployment under men and, mothers might think that fathers prefer to spend the money on themselves instead of spending it on their family.

Sonto: I think it was because I was unemployed and he knew that whenever he got paid for work, he (25 yrs, 1 child) need to buy stuff, formula, diapers, you know, maybe vegetables. [...] [*father of child thought that he*] should be out there: partying, drinking and having fun.

When mothers, both single mothers and mothers who are in a relationship, have too little money, they sometimes go to their 'additional father' to ask for money. In some cases, the additional father willingly gives some money to the mother of the child. They do feel guilty when they receive or borrow money from the additional father, but the well being of their children comes first.

Mosa: He [*the additional father*] is affording to maintain his own kids. Me and my husband (45 yrs, 4 children) sometimes feel that he has to support his own children and now he is even assisting us. [...] He is like: I don't mind to support the children, I don't want them to see them suffering. And I can afford do to something.

The general discourse about fathers and money is that there is a lot of distrust.

Amahle: [*For example if*] he tells you I earn 5000 and yet he earns 7000. The other 2000 is for himself. (*focusgroup*)

Mothers are worried that the father is keeping money to himself for drinking or buying 'dagga' (when smoked it can have a mild calming effect).

Deliwe: He is supposed to go to the bank and give me 500 and say: do whatever you want for (27 yrs, 1 child) the kids. [*But*] I have to ask for it, to remind him. He already planned: I have to buy a beer, 500 beer.[...] On his side, forgetting that he has got 2 kids [*father has also a child with another woman*].

In the case of social fatherhood the general discourse is that additional fathers only step up, when the actual father is not providing enough for his family. In this case it means that the additional father cannot give money to the family when the father is economically providing for his family.

In summary: mothers feel that paternal involvement is very important, especially economical and cultural fatherhood. When it comes to care work, mothers feel a burden to ask fathers, because they usually are solely responsible for care work. Women are taught to be responsible for care work, but things are slowly changing: man and women should be equally responsible for care work. Mothers who not have a relationship with the father of their child have a hard time: the fathers are not involved in any way. When the father does not fulfil his role as a parent, sometimes an 'additional father' steps in. This usually involves supporting the mother financially or engage in recreational activities with the children.

4.2 Paternal involvement since receiving the CSG according to mothers

Mothers are very positive about the Child Support Grant, because it gives them extra resources to support their children and because mothers are the recipients of the CSG, which makes them less dependent on the father of their children. It makes them feel good.

Lerato: [...] Nobody is working at my house. [...] I have to buy food [*with the CSG*]. First I had to wait (21 yrs, 1 child) for the dad and then I would always call him and remind him of money. [...] The grant is helping me a lot.

According to the CSG recipients, the Child Support Grant mostly has a negative influence on the economical involvement of fathers. The CSG particularly has a negative influence on the involvement of fathers who are not involved in a relationship with the mother of the child. Fathers refuse to pay maintenance, because they think the CSG is a substitute for maintenance. Some men say that, because they earn half of the money of the CSG, that they can spend that money on things they like (for example beer).

Nandi: Most men, if you are receiving Child Support Grant, they don't want to support. [...] (17 yrs, 1 child) They will tell you: you get the Child Support Grant so I don't want to support you.

Sonto: I think that the child support is just an excuse for him [*the father*] not to pay out maintenance, (25 yrs, 1 child) that is what I think. [...] Thinking you [*the father*] knows that the Child Support Grant is enough to raise the kid. You know: you can't feed a kid with 280 Rand a month. A kid needs clothes, food. The 280 that I get, 200 goes to preschool. What am I going to do with 80 Rand?

Am I going to buy groceries for the kid with 80 Rands? You see, i think some men use it as an excuse.

Mariah: The Child Support Grant is maybe one of the advantages that he uses. This might be the (26 yrs, 1 child) reason why he doesn't support the baby.

Furthermore, women believe that men refuse to pay maintenance because mothers receive the Child Support Grant. Fathers feel that is a substitute and that 270 Rand (approximately E27) a month is enough to support a child. This leads to a lot of anger among women, because 270 Rand is not enough to support a child so they need additional financial support from the fathers.

Jade: He [*father*] cannot take the Child Support Grant money and make it an excuse not supporting (focus group) your kids. But that is something that they do. The father of my kid, he also did that. We went to maintenance court. I resident for maintenance, when we got there: he told: I am not gonna pay. She gets a 270 Rand [CSG] a month, that is good enough for the kid.

One solution to this perception on economical involvement is not to tell the father of the child the mother receives the grant. Some people state that telling the father that the mother receives a CSG will hurt his feelings.

Pulang: [...] The father of the child is going to feel bad. He is also helping the child. He is also doing (27 yrs, 1 child) some piece job to help us. Fathers have pride, and they feel: why should you go and have that CSG? Because I am there as a father, so I am doing some piece job. [...]

When women are in a relationship, the CSG does not have a big impact on the economical involvement of fathers. Mothers state that the fathers don't really care or are positive about the CSG. The fathers believe that the CSG is something that belongs to the mother and that the mother must spend it on the children.

Zibuyile: The father is very grateful about the child support grant because he knows very well, that he (36 yrs, 3 children) cannot take that money to help himself. And he doesn't have anything to do with that money, because he knows very well that that money is helping his child, so it is basically for his child. So he has nothing to do with it. For himself, so that is why he is very grateful about it. It is very helping for both of us.

When it comes to other forms of paternal involvement, social and cultural fatherhood, the CSG does not seem to have an influence on this. When the mothers, both single and mothers who are in a relationship with the father of their child, are asked about the CSG and paternal involvement they only mention economical fatherhood. Regarding the additional father: mothers state that the additional father does not care about the CSG according to the mothers, because the additional father is not engaged in the CSG it does not seem to have an impact on their involvement with the children.

4.3 Image of (additional) fathers

From previous research it is known that there is a negative perception about fathers in South Africa (Madhavan et al., 2008; Lesejane, 2006). These results are confirmed in the present research.

Lerato: [Sighs] Well, the fathers... there are a few fathers who love their kids.
(21 yrs, 1 child) There are few of them. [...] They only drink. That is the only thing that they do. And spending time with their kids, to be honest, they are not doing anything about it. Yeah, cause I have friends who have kids, they are also complaining about their child's fathers. He is not helping, he is always drunk, he will always come for money [...].

Jewel: [...] What I see, here in South Africa, the men in my neighbourhood, they don't really
(30 yrs, 3 children) care that much. [...] I don't think they really care that much. You can see that in the raping cases, men raping children, men beating their women.

When the respondents talk about fathers in general, thus not specifically about the fathers of their children, they usually mention that 'fathers are not interested' or that 'fathers don't care anymore'. Fathers are also seen as substance abusers (alcohol and of drugs), as cheaters and as emotionally and financially not involved in the lives of their children. The general discourse about men and fathers in Doornkop is mostly negative, however, women who were involved in this research are more positive.

Interviewer: Do you think your husband is doing a good job in being a father?

Kaya: Yes, he is. [...] He is different when I compare him with the other husbands.
(31 yrs, 1 child) Because I'm not working and when he gets paid, he will bring that money to the table and he will ask me: what to do with this money? I [father] am not around, I know nothing about the things the child needs. I am just working and you know everything about their lives and about

the things inside the house. (.) When I am sick, he is there, when I am crying he is there, when my mother is not well, he is there. Everything... He makes me feel nice.

The quote shows that Kaya has a positive opinion about the father of her child and that her husband is different from the other men in the community. The most positive thing about having the father involved in the life of the child(ren) is that she shares the responsibility to raise the children. Another positive aspect about involved fathers is that the fathers are more strict and that, especially the boys, listen better to their father than their mother. For example: Zibuylles' husband is very involved with the children and takes his responsibility very seriously and Zibuylle is very happy with that.

Zibuylle: Especially for the children who have grown up, he [*the father*] manages to sit down with (*36 yrs, 3 children*) them and groom them. [*A woman*] mustn't do this, and it is difficult for a woman to do. Especially if you have children who reach that stage, and if he [*the father*] is there for them and the father is doing good in advising in doing good things. Not bad things. My husband makes sure that my son is busy at school, doing choir or sports like soccer so he can be away from these children who are smoking dagga [*a drug*] and cigarettes.

This only applies to women who are still in a relationship with the father of their children. All these fathers are still involved in the lives of their children and the mothers are very happy about that. In case of an absent father, mothers not only have a negative perception about men in general, but also about the father of their children: mothers are angry and hurt that they have to raise the children on their own.

Zama: I think it is bad [*father not being involved*], because he didn't do that for my child. Sometimes (*26 yrs, 1 child*) I feel it is bad, because it is hurting me inside. I want the dad to be here for him. Even though I used to tell him about if my child is sick, you must come and see the child. He would always have some excuses, you know. It is painful. Cause sometimes, for some things they need a father figure. [...]

The reasons why mothers are angry about the absence of the fathers are that mothers feel that is a burden to raise children without paternal support. Second, mothers feel that it is not fair towards their children: when the parents are not together anymore, it shouldn't influence the paternal involvement.

Jewel: [...] If I can change it, just changing men, he would not be the father of my kids. They way he is doing, (*30 yrs, 3 children*) he is punishing the kids. It's like punishing, because he doesn't do anything for the kids. Yeah, he doesn't

come, he doesn't see them, he doesn't care, he is careless. Men, when [...] they don't love you anymore: it is just like: they chase you away. They don't care about you anymore. The problem is that me and him are fighting. And now he is punishing the kids for that.

This quote shows that Jewel is especially angry with the father of her children, because he does not only want anything to do with the mother, but he also not wants to be involved in the lives of their children. When it comes to paternal involvement: the fathers stopped being involved when they broke up or the father wasn't involved in the life of the child when the mother was pregnant.

Both, single mothers and mothers who are involved in a relationship with the fathers of their children are generally very positive and satisfied about the support they receive from them. 'Additional fathers' are mostly involved in recreational activities and they sometimes support the children financially. 'Additional fathers' are usually a family member and occasionally a friend fulfils the father role. In case of some single mothers, the additional father became the substitute father.

Zama: [...] For some things they need a father figure you know. So, he [son] doesn't have that. I am (26 yrs, 1 child) happy, because my father is taking care of him. He even calls my dad, dad. And he [additional father] likes him so much, he calls him: my last born. That is cool, but I wish it was his father, his biological father. Unfortunately it is not the biological father.

Even though Zama is very positive about how her father fulfils the father role for her child, she would still prefer the biological father be involved. In general discourse about additional fathers we state that they are positively valued when the father of the child is not fulfilling his father role as he is supposed to.

4.3 Maternal gate opening, maternal gate closing and perception on fatherhood

According to mothers is it very important to have the fathers involved in the lives of their children. This not only benefits the children, but also the mothers experience several benefits when they share the parental responsibilities. For example, mothers have more time for themselves. However, the mothers who have a negative perception of fatherhood or a negative perception of the father of the children are more reluctant to give fathers access to the lives of their children. On the other hand, when mothers have a more positive perception of the father, they are more likely to stimulate the contact between father and child. However, we know from previous research (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Trinder, 2008) that, simply dividing mothers into gate openers and gate closers is too simple and most mothers are actually somewhere in between. This finding is confirmed in this research:

none of the women are solely gate openers or closers and are in between the two dimensions or they can be placed in two dimensions.

4.3.1. Maternal gate opening, perception of fatherhood and the CSG

Gate openers are the women who are still in a relationship with the father of their children. Mothers are very positive about the father and the relationship between the child(ren) and their father, mainly because they are happy the father is still involved in the life of his child.

Lerato: It makes me happy just to see them. They look alike. It makes me feel happy, excited.
(21 yrs, 1 child) I feel like jumping sometimes. Just to see them happy. You know, the two of them.

Mothers believe that fathers have a positive influence and therefore undertake different actions to reassure that the bond between fathers remains or improves. Mostly, mothers try to influence the child to remain close to their father.

Janet: If he [*the father*] doesn't come to them, they [*the children*] must call him and ask if he is fine
(38 yrs, 3 children) or whatever, because you can't sit and relax and tell yourself o.k. or wondering if he does not come or that he is not feeling well, so if they phone him they can know whether he is fine.

This quote shows that Janet stimulates the contact between father and child by telling her children to call their fathers when they haven't seen him for a while. Others strategies to encourages the contact, is to build a positive image of the father, by telling them that they should respect their father, even when he is unemployed.

Interviewer: Do you encourage the contact between your husband and your children?

Mosa: I do it to make sure there is no disrespect from the children. They should take advantage
(45 yrs, 4 children) that their father is not working [...]. I make sure that I am encouraging the children all the time and I tell them that even your father unemployed, that doesn't mean you shouldn't disrespect him. He is still your father.

This quote shows that having a job and being able to support your family is very important. Mosa is worried that the children look down on their father because he is unemployed. This is confirmed by Lesejane (2006). Fathers are primary seen as providers and they need to fulfil their families' material

needs. Even though a lot of women, and also Mosa, feel that it is the fathers job to provide for their family, they also understand that it is very difficult to find and maintain a job. Mothers are therefore more positive about how the father fulfils his responsibility as long as he tries to find a job. Secondly, mothers also see the positive side of fathers being at home: he then has more time to spend with his children and he can talk to them about their lives or help them with their homework.

Mothers do not only stimulate children to stay in contact with their father, they also encourage their boyfriends or husbands to stay in touch with their children. The strategy mothers use to encourage fathers is to talk about their child with the father and suggesting how he should deal with certain situations.

Hope: We talk about a lot of stages that she takes, like when she started walking.

(19 yrs, 1 child) Nkosa [*boyfriend*]: please you must hid your things well, like your tools, put them somewhere because now we have a child that is walking around. We talk about that a lot.

Hope advices Nkosa that he should put away his tools, so that their daughter can walk around safely in their house. Other advices mothers give the father about their child usually have to do with the kind of activities they can do with their child, like playing soccer or taking the child to the park or to his family. Another example comes from Mosa who actively tries to involve the father by inviting him to join the conversation she has with her children

Mosa: I always sit down with the kids and I talk about the situations at the house. I make sure to *(45 yrs, 4 children)* involve the father. I gather them together and talk. Even my husband can have a voice, so that the kids can see that their father is still their father: the head of the family.

Historically are fathers seen as the patriarch of the family (Lesejane, 2006) and are seen as a man of wisdom and good judgement. This quote shows that fathers are still seen as the head the family and in this case the mother tries to retain his status as the patriarch.

Regarding the additional fathers: mothers are also very positive about their involvement. In contrast to the biological father, additional fathers are seldomly encouraged by the mothers to be more involved. Firstly, the idea is that additional fathers should do it willingly and therefore shouldn't be encouraged. Secondly, mothers are satisfied with the help they receive from the additional father and don't feel that they need to get more involved en therefore they do not encourage the contact between the child and the additional father. So towards the additional father the mothers have more a passive approach.

Sonto: You shouldn't force somebody in something that they don't want to do. They should do it willingly. They should know: I am the uncle, I am the grandfather and I should spend some time with the kid. But if they don't want to, I can't force them to.
(25 yrs, 1 child)

When the additional father has become the substitute father for the child, the mother does try to encourage the contact between the child and the substitute father, by encouraging the child to maintain contact with the substitute father.

Nandi: My uncle plays a good role for my baby. He is really helping a lot. He treats my baby, like it's his own, everything. Buys him some clothes. I am happy! I let my uncle visit my child, they are good together, they love each other so much.
(17 yrs, 1 child)

Mothers feel that the CSG does not impact the relationship with the father of their children, at least not in a negative way.

Mosa: It is not affecting us so much. I receive this money and see it as a possibility for us. Like: we have this money, what can be do with it? I start with buying the basics. When it is Finished, it is finished. [...] We are supporting each other, we can work together on whatever we need.
(45 yrs, 4 children)

This quote show that the CSG does not have an impact on the relationship between Mosa and her boyfriend. This is the case with mothers who have devoted boyfriends or husbands. The fathers of their children are involved with their children and try to provide for their family. In these cases both mother and father see the CSG as an opportunity, it helps them to raise the children. In these families there is usually no steady income and the CSG is the only regular income they have and this money is solely spent on the children. The CSG seem to have a positive influence on paternal involvement. Fathers are expected to provide economically for their children, but due to high unemployed rates most of them are not able to do so. Mothers are sad, and sometimes angry, about this, but they feel that is not their husbands fault. Therefore they seem to use a gate opening approach: they try to involve the father as much as they can in the lives of their children. The mothers feel that the fathers are trying their best and because of the CSG there is at least some money for the children. This makes the mothers more relaxed en less worried about financial resources and they put less pressure on the fathers to earn money. This has a positive influence on their relationship and also on paternal involvement.

4.3.2 Passive gate opening, gate closing, the perception of fatherhood and the CSG

Gate closers or passive gatekeepers are mothers who are not in a relationship with the father of their child and these fathers are completely absent in the lives of their child(ren). In case of absent fathers, they lost interest in the baby during the pregnancy or shortly after giving birth and are not involved in any way in the lives of their child(ren). This has led to a lot of anger among the mothers, because they feel that fathers should take their responsibility.

Jewel: [...] When you are a father, or when you want to be called a father, you have to be there. To (30 yrs, 3 children) be a father figure, it doesn't mean you have to be like just a boy who is going to drink and do some funny things, but you have to be responsible for your kids. Because it takes two to tango. We were two, and it is now my responsibility, he is running after. He has to be there for his kids. [...]

When the child was just born, most mothers tried to involve the father in the live of their child, but when he did not meet their expectations or if he was not interested in their child they decide to exclude the child's father out of their life or stopped trying to get the father involved in the life of their child.

Mariah: He [*father of her child*] is history, he doesn't do anything for the baby. When he found out (26 yrs, 1 child) that I was pregnant, he was happy, because it was his first child, as it was my first child. He was being supportive, but along the months he started to change and I found out that he was cheating and then I decided you know what: you have found your own route. Cause I don't know what he does with those girls. At the end of the day you [*father of the child*] are going to be with them. You never know if it is going to harm me or the baby. Let me go and I'll find my route: for the safety for me and my child.

As this quote shows it is very important for mothers that fathers act responsible. In this case the father cheated and Mariah therefore decided to exclude him from her life. She is a gate closer: she does not want the father of her child to be involved in any way in the life of her child. Mariah excludes the father of her child based on the argument of the well-being of the child: the fact that the father hangs around with different girls will have a negative effect on her child. Gate closing by mothers is usually justified by the argument of child well-being according to Trinder (2008).

Mothers in this research who are passive gatekeepers, do so because the father decided to leave his family and decided not be involved in his child' life anymore. According to Trinder (2008) passive gate keepers let the children decide whether they want contact with their father. In this

research the children were too young (their ages vary between 0 and 6 years old) to make a decision themselves, but the mothers indicate that the child, when it grows older he or she is allowed to contact their father. In the meantime mothers do not undertake any action to get the father involved in the lives of their child.

Sonto: If he (*father of the child*) wants to come, he can come. But he doesn't and I can't force him to.
(25 yrs, 1 child) I can't. I am used to it, I don't have a problem with it. It's just like the boy next door you know, there is nothing that he is the father of my kid. He is just any other guy out there. [...] I am proud of myself, I don't need him. I don't.

The passive gate closers feel that the father is welcome in the life of their children, but the father has to make an effort: pay maintenance for the child, or come by and visit the child. But these fathers are not interested and are not involved in any way.

All these mothers are very unhappy about the situation they are in at the moment. They do not only have a negative perception about the father of their children, also they are negative about fathers in general. Fathers don't care and are seen as useless.

Jewel: What I see, the in South Africa, the men in my neighbourhood, they don't really care that
(30 yrs, 3 children) much. [...] I don't think they really care that much. You can see that in the raping cases, men raping children, men beating their women.

In these cases the CSG does not seem to have an influence on maternal gate closing or passive gate opening. This is probably caused by the fact that in these cases mostly the fathers decided to leave their family and it was not the mother who decided to exclude the father from their lives. The mothers actually prefer, apart from Mariah, that the fathers are involved.

4.3.3 Context

Trinder (2008) has found four different factors and contexts in which the dimensions of gate opening and closing occurs. Out of the four factors, three factors played a role in this research. The first factor is that of *relationship between parents*. Mothers who have a good relationship with their husbands or boyfriends are more likely to use gate opening strategies. Mothers who do not have a good relationship with their husband or boyfriend, or do not have a relationship at all with the father, use passive or gate closing strategies. The second factor is that of *paternal competence and commitment*. The mothers who are gate openers see the father as good or as good enough fathers, who are committed and the mothers therefore encourage the contact between father and child(ren).

Mothers who are gate closers feel that their ex-partners are not good fathers, because they are not committed in any way to their children. The last factor is *child welfare needs*. Mothers who are gate openers or passive gate openers feel that it is in the best interest of their child that the father is involved, while mothers who are gate closers feel that the fathers of their children are not good enough in being a responsible father. Passive gate openers want the father of their child involved in the life of their child(ren), because they feel that it is in the best interest of their child. However, in this research the fathers decided to leave their families and therefore mothers decide to use a passive approach. Fathers are welcome to be involved, but the fathers have to make an effort and act as a responsible father (paying maintenance etc.).

The fourth factor mentioned by Trinder (2008), maternal role security, role battles and role bargains, did not play a role in this research.

5. Conclusion

This research investigated how female CSG recipients in Soweto (Johannesburg) perceive paternal involvement and also investigated whether the CSG has an influence on paternal involvement. In this chapter the main conclusions will be discussed. From these conclusion several recommendations and suggestions will be made to improve paternal involvement in South Africa.

When it comes to paternal involvement mothers distinguish three different kinds of paternal involvement: economical fatherhood, cultural fatherhood and social fatherhood (divided in recreational activities and care work). The most important kind of paternal involvement is economical fatherhood: fathers are expected to provide for their family. A large amount of the fathers are not providing for their family, because either the father is absent or the father is unemployed. The lack of maintenance leads to a lot of anger among the mothers, because they are depending on the CSG of 270 Rand per child (approximately E27) per month which is not enough to provide for a child. Even though the lack of financial support leads to anger among the women, those who are in a relationship with the father of their children are more satisfied with their situation than single mothers. The CSG is seen as a positive contribution to the family and is used to buy food and school uniforms for the children. Single mothers, on the other hand, claim that the absent fathers refuse to pay maintenance and use the CSG as a justification. Another important kind of paternal involvement is that of cultural fatherhood. Within the Xhosa and Zulu cultures ancestors play an important role and the father is responsible for passing on traditions and the family values. This is especially important for boys, because the fathers can support and guide their sons through their initiation into manhood. The last kind of paternal involvement is that of social fatherhood. This can be divided into recreational activities and care work. Most present fathers are involved in recreational activities with their child: for example playing and taking the child out. Mothers are positive about the recreational involvement, especially for sons is it important to have a father who plays with them: playing soccer and other 'male activities'. When it comes to care work: mostly women are responsible for care work. Some men refuse to be involved: they consider it a task for women. Mainly women therefore bear the care burden on their own, while there seems to be a tendency among women to want to share the care work with the father of their children.

When the father is not able to fulfil his responsibilities as a father in some cases an additional father steps in. When the father is fulfilling his responsibilities it is not appropriate for a an additional father to step in. The additional father is usually a family member and he is only involved in supporting the mother financially and/or involved in recreational activities with the child.

Single mothers argue that the CSG has a negative impact on economical involvement: fathers refuse to pay maintenance, because the mother receives the CSG. On other forms of paternal

involvement the CSG does not seem to have an impact. According to the mothers who are in a relationship with the father of their child the CSG does not seem to have influenced paternal involvement.

Overall, there is a negative perception of fathers. Fathers are seen as uninterested in their children, substance abusers and mothers feel that they are not emotionally and socially involved in the lives of their children. When it comes to the father of their own children mothers are more positive: they are happy that the fathers are involved and that they try to meet their responsibilities as much as possible. Important is that a father at least tries to make to an effort and this is especially important when the father is unemployed and not earning money for his family.

Mothers who are gate openers are mothers who are in a relationship with the fathers of their children. Mothers use several strategies to improve the relationship between their children and their father: they stimulate the children to contact their father and they try to build up a positive image of the father. When it comes to the CSG: mothers feel that the CSG does not impact their relationship. It actually seems that the CSG has a positive influence on the paternal involvement: most fathers are not able to provide economically for their families and the CSG is seen as a substitute. Fathers are normally seen as the primary providers, but mothers feel that it is not their fault that they do not provide. Mothers feel that it is very important for children to have their fathers in their lives. Therefore mothers stimulate and encourage the contact between father and child(ren). The women have a negative perception of fathers in general, but a more positive perception about the father of their own children. Mothers who are separated from the father of their children use a more passive, and sometimes a gate closing strategy. The CSG does not seem to have an influence on maternal gate closing, because the fathers in this research are not interested to be involved in the lives of their children. These women have a negative perception about the father of their children and about fathers in general.

5.1 The research question

The research question of this research is: *'How do female recipients of the Child Support Grant in Doornkop, perceive the effect of the Child Support Grant on paternal involvement, and how can this perception be explained?'*

The perceived effect of the CSG, according to the recipients, is mixed. There is a difference between single mothers and mothers who are still in a relationship with the father of their children. Single mothers experience a negative effect of the CSG on paternal involvement and specifically on economical fatherhood. These fathers do not pay maintenance to the mothers and they argue that

fathers use the CSG as an excuse to not pay for maintenance. On other forms of paternal involvement the CSG does not seem to have an effect. This is probably caused by the fact that most fathers in this research decided to leave their child when the child was very young. There was one case in which the mother decided to exclude the father of her children out of their lives. This mother can be considered as a gate closer. An explanation for her behaviour is that she has a negative perception of the father of her children, she feels that the father is acting irresponsible. If single mothers are passive gate openers, they do not consider the father of their children as a good father, but they still feel that the father should be involved. Reasons for this is that they want to share the responsibility and they also feel that the children benefit from an involved father.

The CSG seems to have a positive influence on paternal involvement in households where the parents are still together. Mothers stimulate both fathers and children to improve their relationship by encouraging children and fathers to maintain and improve their relationship and therefore the paternal involvement increases. These strategies can be considered as maternal gate opening strategies and this can be explained by 2 factors. The first factor is that mothers feel that it is very important for children to have their fathers in their life. The second factor is that mothers feel that the fathers are doing a good job in being a father even if they are unemployed they deserve recognition as a father.

5.2 Implication results for the theory

Within the research on fatherhood in South Africa fatherhood is mostly related to social fatherhood and economical fatherhood. There is not much emphasis on the cultural element of fatherhood, while this is especially very important in the black community very important part. To get a more complete view of fatherhood in South Africa the cultural element should be taken into account.

The theory of Trinder on maternal gate opening and gate closing is mostly confirmed in this research. Trinder found four factors which influence paternal involvement and this research found three of these factors: *perception of maternal involvement*, *child welfare needs* and *parental relationship*. It seems that especially the parental relationship and maternal perceptions of paternal competence play a big role. This means that the future research might focus on these aspects and develop more in depth knowledge how these factors exactly influence maternal gate opening and closing. One factor, *maternal role security, role battles and role bargains* was not found in this research. It is not clear what the exact cause is, but an explanation might be that Trinder conducted her research in The United Kingdom and this research was conducted in South Africa. In order to clarify this difference more research is needed. This might lead to more insight in the contexts where maternal gate opening and closing occurs.

The results of this research also implicate that policy, in this case the CSG, also has an influence on maternal gate opening and closing. This means that in future research on paternal involvement, and in research specifically about maternal gate opening and gate closing cash transfer policy(ies) should be taken into account.

In the long term this means that there will be an expansion of factors which influence maternal gate opening and gate closing.

5.3 Reflection on shortcomings of this research

There are some shortcomings in this research regarding the validity. Validity is the influence of systematic mistakes on the research (Boeije, 2005). This research was conducted on weekdays between 9 o'clock until 17 o'clock. This means that mothers who work regular hours (nine to five) are not included in this research. Another shortcoming in the validity of this research is 'reactivity'. This means that people have the tendency to change their behaviour when they know that a researcher is observing or interviewing them. This is especially the case with one-time interviews or observations(Boeije, 2005).

This research is conducted in an area where mainly black people reside. The researcher is a white European woman and even though a black local woman was present during all the interviews and the focus group it had an effect on the interviewee(s). One woman, for example stated that she has never spoken to a white woman and therefore she was nervous for the interview.

There are also some shortcomings in this research regarding the reliability. The reliability of a research is the influence of coincidental or unsystematic mistakes in research (Boeije, 2005). To improve the reliability 'intersubjective control' should have been used more often. Only a small part of the data and codes has been commented on by a fellow researcher. If more data and codes would have been commented on by a fellow researcher, it would have improved the reliability. Intersubjective control not only improves the reliability, but it also improves the validity of a research (Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009).

5.4 Suggestions and recommendations

This research shows that the CSG has both a negative and a positive transformative element. Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux (2008) feel that it is important for policies to have a neutral and positive impact. However, in this case the CSG potentially has a negative effect and the government should make sure this negative effect will be changed in a neutral and possibly a positive effect.

The positive effect of the CSG is that it seems to have a positive effect on paternal involvement when the parents are still together. The negative transformative element is that

according to mothers, fathers are not economically involved with their children, when the parents are separated. However, the nuance in this case is that fathers do not contribute in any way to the upbringing of the child. The positive transformative element seems to be influenced by three factors: *the parental relationship, the maternal perception of paternal competence and commitment and child welfare discourse*. First: the relationship between the parents is good. Secondly: fathers are seen as good fathers by the mother and thirdly, mothers feel that it is in the best interest of the child to have his or her father involved. These factors might be used to neutralize the negative transformative effect. This means that policy should be developed that has the objectives to improve the relationship between parents after separation, improve the image of fathers and encourage and recognize paternal involvement.

The results of this research show that mothers have an influence on paternal involvement, but obviously fathers also have an influence on paternal involvement. This is especially the case with single mothers, because most mothers are left by the father of their child. To develop policies to improve paternal involvement not only information is needed from the mothers but also from the fathers. Therefore it is suggested to do research on the effect of the CSG on fathers and specifically on absent fathers. This knowledge can be used to improve paternal involvement.

In practice it is important to improve the relationship between the ex-partners, because that seems to be the main reason why fathers are not involved in the lives of the children according to the mother. Therefore counselling between ex-partners with for example with community or social workers, could be helpful. A good relationship between parents, even if they are separated, benefits both parents and children.

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7. Appendices

Appendix A: Interview questions

A. Personal details

Before we start with the interview I would like to ask you some questions about yourself, so I will get to know you a little better:

1. What is your date of birth?
2. Do you have a matric? Did you study further? If yes, what?
3. Are you currently working or run your own business? If so, what do you do? If you are unemployed, what do you do for a living?
4. Are you married? If not, are you in a relationship with someone? Do they live with you?
5. How many children do you have?
6. What are their names and ages?
7. Where do your children live?

B. (Substitute/additional) Father

1. Who is the biological father of your children?
2. What do you think a father should do or be in relation to his child?
3. Can you explain to me if you think **name biological father** does a good job at being a father? Can you give examples?
4. What does he do best as a father? **Ask examples**
5. What do you wish **name biological father** would do differently? **Ask examples**
6. Are there other men who are a father for your children, besides the biological father? If yes, who?
7. Why do you think it is a father role? Can you give examples what he does with the child?
8. Can you explain to me if you think **name additional/substitute father** does a good job at being a father? **Ask examples.**
9. What does he do best as a father? **Ask examples**
10. What do you wish **name substitute/additional** would do differently? **Ask examples**

C. Child Support Grant

1. For which of your children do you receive a CSG? **(get names of the children)**
2. Who collects the CSG?
3. Since when do you receive the CSG?
4. Who spends the CSG money and on what?

5. What do you think of the CSG?
6. Has the CSG made a change in your life? If so, can you give examples?
7. What does *name biological father* think of the CSG?
8. What does *name substitute/additional father* think of the CSG?
9. Has there been changes in your life since receiving the CSG?
10. How about changes in the lives of your children?
11. And can you explain to me if it has changed the live of *name biological father and additional/substitute father*?
12. How do you feel about this?

D. Paternal involvement and perception of fathers

1. Does *name biological father* support his child financially?
2. If so, does *name biological father* pay maintenance for his children on a regular basis?
3. If not , why do you think he does not pay maintenance?
4. What is your opinion about this?
5. Is *name biological father* also involved in other ways in the lives of his child (cooking, walking him/her to school/supervise/helping with homework)? Can you give examples?
6. Does *name substitute/additional father* have (other) children who do not live in this household? If so, does he pay maintenance for his other children?
7. What is your opinion about that?
8. Does the *name substitute/additional father* financially contributes to this household?
9. What is your opinion about that?
10. How do you feel about the contact between *name biological father* and your child?
11. Is *name substitute/additional father* also involved in other ways in the lives of his child (cooking, walking him/her to school/supervise/helping with homework)? Can you give examples?
12. How do you feel about the contact between *name substitute/additional father* and your child?

E. Maternal gatekeeping and Maternal kinkeeping

1. How do you feel about the contact between *name biological father* and child?
2. What do you like about his involvement? What do you not like about his involvement?
3. When do you prefer *name biological father* in involved (cooking, supporting financially, helping with homework etc.) in your child's live?

4. And when do you prefer ***name biological father*** is not involved?
5. Do you encourage the contact between your child and ***name biological father***?
6. Can you give examples?
7. How do you feel about the contact between ***name substitute/additional father*** and your child?
8. What do you like about his involvement?
9. When do you prefer ***name additional/substitute father*** is not involved (cooking, supporting financially, helping with homework etc.) in your child's live?
10. And when do you prefer ***name substitute/additional father*** is involved?
11. Do you encourage the contact between your child and ***name substitute/additional father***?
12. Can you give examples?

Is there anything else you think we need to know about the grant or fatherhood?

Appendix B: Vignettes

Situation 1 (concepts: perception of fatherhood, economical and social fatherhood)

Baruti is married to Jewel, together they have 2 children: Lenka and Mosa. Jewel takes care for the children and is not employed while Baruti has a job and maintains the family financially.

A. Jewel thinks it is hard to take care for the two children alone, she does all the cleaning, cooking, helping the children with their homework etc. She does complain to Baruti, because she wants him to be more involved in raising the children and domestic work. Baruti however, thinks that Jewel should be grateful because he maintains the family and therefore he does not have to be involved in care and domestic work.

B. Baruti has lost his job and is now doing piece jobs. Jewel works at a fast food restaurant to make some extra money. Because both of them are working now they have decided it is fair to divide the care and domestic work between both of them. Baruti now enjoys being more involved in his children's lives and does not look for a permanent job anymore. Jewel does not agree because this will result in long-term financial insecurity for the family.

C. Jewel is offered a permanent job in the fast food restaurant, and thinks about accepting the offer. In that case Baruti has to plan his piece jobs during the school times of the children, and to do in addition all the care and housekeeping work. He likes the perspective but Jewel hesitates; she does want to lose control on the household activities and the care for the children.

Situation 2 (concepts: Child Support Grant, maternal gatekeeping + negative image of masculinity, maternal gatekeeping + positive image of masculinity)

Tanya has 4 children, in the age of 10 till 16 years old. For all of her children she receives the Child Support Grant. Tanya sells fruit on the street to make some money. Tanya has a relationship with Karabo, who is also the father of her children. Karabo does piece jobs.

A Tanya just ended her relationship with Karabo. She feels that she is capable to raise her children on her own and Karabo hardly contributes financially because he doesn't have a permanent job. Tanya doesn't want anything to do with Karabo anymore: thanks to the Child Support Grant and the money she makes with selling fruit.

B. Tanya is now raising her children on her own. She feels it's hard, but she is proud how is handling it. Karabo wants to keep in touch with his children, he calls Tanya often and he also shows up unexpectedly at her house. She doesn't like that, she tries to keep him away from the children by sending him away and ignoring his phone calls.

C. Tanya noticed that since Karabo has a new girlfriend he has changed a lot. He has a permanent job and he is acting like a responsible father for the child he has with his new girlfriend. Tanya is happy for them but she feels that he being a responsible father for this other child will not change their situation: she prefers to keep him away from her children. She feels she is perfectly capable to support her own children financially and emotionally.

Situation 3 (concepts: father, additional and substitute father, perception of fatherhood)

Kaya has three children: Paki, Phuleng and Tale. The father of the children, Ata, does not live with them because he has not paid 'lebola' and his family does not allow them to live together.

A. Ata tries to visit his family as much as he can, he visits once every two weeks. When he is around he helps them financially, he buys them food or toys. He also plays with his children and he likes to take Paki, Phuleng and Tale out to the park. Kaya, however feels lonely sometimes and wants more help with taking care of the children. For that reason she has asked her uncle who lives nearby for help. Ata disagrees, because he insists that he is the one and only father of the children.

B. Kaya is really happy with the help she is getting from her uncle. Kaya feels that her uncle is like a father figure for the children. When times goes by Ata visits Kaya and the children less and less. He feels dismissed now that the uncle is taking in his place. In the end he does not show up and also does not contribute financially to the family anymore. Kaya applies for the Child Support Grant.

C. Kaya is very sad, because her uncle has died. She feels that her children now really miss a father figure. Ata has found a new job and is now able to pay 'lebola'. Kaya decides to marry Ata, because she feels that children need a father figure present in their lives.

Situation 4 (concepts: Child Support Grant, economical involvement)

Janet is a single mother of 5 young children. She lives with her brother and sister in law and their children. Her children have 2 different fathers: Thulani and Vusi. Janet is not receiving maintenance for the children. She is depending on Thulani and Vusi for money, but they do not pay maintenance regularly. She doesn't like that she is depending on Thulani and Vusi for money.

A. Since a couple of months Janet is receiving the Child Support Grant. Thulani refuses to pay her maintenance for the children because the government is now paying for the children. Janet feels it is just an excuse not to pay maintenance, and forbids him to visit her and his child from now on.

B. Vusi on the other hand still contributes financially but not on a permanent basis. Now Thulani is not allowed to visit he family anymore he claims to have a say on the way Janet is spending the CSG grant. Janet is ambivalent on this. On the one hand she does not want to lose the only father in the household, on the other hand she does not think Vusi has the right to have a say in the spending of the grant.

C. Janet decides that she wants both Vusi in the life of her children and that she wants to decide where she spends the Child Support Grant on. Therefore she tells Vusi and Thulani that is she no longer receiving the Child Support Grant.

Situation 5 (concepts: maternal kinkeeping, maternal kinkeeping + positive image of masculinity, maternal kinkeeping + negative image of masculinity, Child Support Grant)

Nandi has 1 son: Kubu. She is unemployed and receives the Child Support Grant. She lives with her mother and her siblings. The father of her son is Phila. He does not live with them. Nandi stimulates Phila a lot to be involved in his son's life, because she thinks it is important that he grows up in family with both mum and dad present. She gives Phila advices on what kind of activities he can do with son, like going to the park of play soccer. Nandi also stimulates Kubu to call his father regularly.

A. Nandi is very happy with Phila, they love each other very much. He also plays a lot with Kubu and teaches him soccer. However, she doesn't like it that he doesn't have a job, and she is aware that he is hanging around a lot with his also unemployed peers. For that reason he does not offer a good example to his son. She discusses this with Phila but he answers that she has to accept him as he is, if not he will not show up anymore. Nandi never brings the issue up again.

B. Phila has changed a lot lately. He got offered a job in the mines and if he accepts it he can financially contribute to the family. However, in that case he only will be able to visit them once every two months.. Nandi doesn't like this at all, and feels afraid to lose him. She suggests him not to accept the job.

C. Phila has accepted the job anyway and migrated to the Rustenburg area. He sends some small financial contributions to Nandi now and then. At his third visit he tells Nandi that he wants to marry her but Nandi has been informed by her relatives that Phila has had many girlfriends since he left to Rustenburg. Actually she intended to tell him not to visit them anymore. She had already applied for a Child Support Grant and lost confidence in Phila. Kubu however asks his mother to marry Phila, he adores his father. What should she do?

